

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

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FM AMCONSUL LUANDA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3200

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUANDA 0078

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINSNAO

SUBJECT: HIGH COMMISSIONER DISCUSSES INDEPENDENCE AGREEMENT AND  
TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

1. I TALKED ON JANUARY 21 WITH OUTGOING HIGH COMMISSIONER ADMIRAL  
ROSA COUTINHO ABOUT THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE AND INDEPENDENCE AGREEMENT.  
ACCORDING TO THE ADMIRAL, THE THREE ISSUES THAT GENERATED THE  
MOST DISCUSSION AT THE CONFERENCE WERE NATIONALITY, MILITARY MATTERS  
AND DIVYING UP THE MINISTRIES. THE ALVOR CONFERENCE TOOK SO  
LONG SAID THE ADMIRAL, BECAUSE MATTERS COULD NOT BE DISCUSSED AT  
THE TABLE. WHENEVER THE PORTUGUESE MADE A PROPOSAL THE LIBERATION  
GROUPS RETIRED TO SEEK A CONSENSUS. THE RESULT WAS A NUMBER OF  
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MINI-CONFERENCES AND CAUCUSES IN SIDEROOMS AND CORRIDORS.

2. ROSA COUTINHO CALLED THE AGREEMENT CLUMSY BUT THINKS IT WAS THE BEST THAT COULD BE OBTAINED IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AMONG THE THREE GROUPS WHICH MADE THE AGREEMENT POSSIBLE IS VERY DEEP, BUT BELIEVES ALL THREE WILL MAKE A REAL EFFORT TO WORK TOGETHER. HE THINKS THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT AGREED TO WILL HOLD FOR A FEW MONTHS - LONG ENOUGH TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE - BUT THAT IT IS FORTUNATE A LONGER TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL NOT BE REQUIRED. MUCH OF THE AGREEMENT IS AN INTENTIONAL GLOSSING OVER OF DIFFERENCES IN THE INTEREST OF SHOWING FORWARD PROGRESS.

3. THE PORTUGUESES WERE PERPLEXED BY THE LIBERATION GROUPS' ATTITUDES ON CERTAIN ISSUES. ON THE PRESIDENTIAL COLLEGE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE MOVEMENTS RESISTED ALL EFFORTS BY THE PORTUGUESE TO CALL THE MEMBERS EITHER VICE PRESIDENTS OR VICE PRIME MINISTERS AND INSISTED THAT THE INCUMBENTS WOULD HAVE NO SPECIAL STATUS. INDEED, REPORTED ROSA COUTINHO, THE MOVEMENTS INTIMATED THEY MAY WELL GIVE THEIR MOST SENIOR PEOPLE CABINET PORTFOLIOS. ON MILITARY MATTERS, THE LIBERATION GROUPS AGREED TO A JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF IN WHICH THE PORTUGUESE MEMBERS WILL BE THE COMMANDERS OF THE ARMY, NAVY AND AIR FORCE, BUT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WILL SEND SUBORDINATE COMMANDERS TO REPRESENT THEM ON THE BODY. THEY AGREED TO INTEGRATE THE NEW MIXED MILITARY FORCE RIGHT DOWN TO THE PATROL LEVEL, BUT INSISTED ON MAINTAINING SEPARATE BARRACKS AND INSTALLATIONS FOR EACH MOVEMENT. TO ROSA COUTINHO, THESE ATTITUDES SIGNAL A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT EVEN MORE CUMBERSOME THAN APPEARS ON PAPER, AS ALL MATTERS WILL NOT ONLY HAVE TO BE CLEARED BY ALL THREE MOVEMENTS, BUT CHECKED OUT WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE HEADQUARTERS AS WELL. THINGS WILL BE A BIT EASIER IF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE GROUPS SETTLE IN ANGOLA. NETO HAS ALREADY ANNOUNCED HE WILL RETURN HERE TO LIVE. SAVIMBI WILL ARRIVE IN NOVA LISBOA ON JANUARY 25. THE ADMIRAL SAID THAT WHETHER SAVIMBI STAYS IN THE CITY OR RETURNS TO HIS CAMP WILL DEPEND UPON THE VIBRATIONS HE GETS IN NOVA LISBOA; IF HE GETS SUFFICIENT ENCOURAGEMENT, SAID THE ADMIRAL, HE MAY LEAVE THE BUSH.

5. WITH RESPECT TO NATIONALITY, THE ADMIRAL SAID, THE TOUGHEST ISSUE WILL BE THE STATUS OF ANGOLAN REFUGEES IN ZAIRE AND THEIR CHILDREN.

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6. IN TERMS OF THE MOST CRITICAL JOB TO BE DONE, HE SAID THAT PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTION FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WILL BE EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT. VOTER REGISTRATION ALONE WILL BE AN EXCRUCIATING PROCESS, ESPECIALLY WHEN ONE CONSIDERS THAT PERHAPS ONE-HALF THE POTENTIAL VOTERS HAVE NO MEANS OF PROVING THEY ARE THE LEGAL MINIMUM AGE TO VOTE. THE ADMIRAL SAID THE FIRST MAJOR JOB TO BE DONE IS TO WRITE THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW WHICH WILL SERVE

AS A PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION. IT IS IN THIS LAW THAT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WILL HAVE TO ADDRESS MANY OF THE QUESTIONS THAT WERE LEFT UNANSWERED AT THE CONFERENCE.

7. THE ADMIRAL CONFIRMED THAT THE NEW HIGH COMMISSIONER WILL BE BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTONIO DA SILVA CARDOSO, CURRENT COMMANDER OF THE AIR FORCE IN ANGOLA. SILVA CARDOSO WILL TAKE UP HIS DUTIES ON JANUARY 28 AND THE ADMIRAL PLANS TO LEAVE ANGOLA FOR LISBON ON JANUARY 27 TO TAKE HIS SEAT ON THE JUNTA OF NATIONAL SALVATION. IN A SEPARATE TELEGRAM WE PROVIDE BIO DATA ON SILVA CARDOSO.

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